



# A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE EARLY FINNS OF THE WEST

1800 - 1925

by

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# CONTENTS

m' . 1	Page
Title	
Contents	
Foreword	
Introduction	
The Finns in Russian Alaska	6
The Call of America	8
The Finnish Community	12
The Employment Situation	12
Social, Cultural and Community Activities	
Finn Halls	
Programs and Activities	
Churches	
Temperance Movement	
Organizations	
Newspapers	
Cooperative Associations	
The Labor Movement	
The Finns in the Western States	
Alaska	
Arizona	
New Mexico	
Colorado	
Wyoming	0 ,
Montana	
Utah	0.0
Nevada	
Idaho	99
Washington	99
Oregon	
California	
Acknowledgments	
Selected References	50
Selected Kelerences	50

#### FOREWORD

This brief history presents an overview of the movement of Finns and Finnish-Americans to the West, their distribution, work, social and cultural activities, organizations, and related aspects of their life. The emphasis is on the early history, notably during the period of migration of Finns to the United States and the West from the mid-1800's through the first quarter of the twentieth century. The Finnish heritage is rich, indeed, as shown in the extensive literature, research by the University of Turku and the University of Minnesota, and by many scholarly studies. Only brief reference is possible herein.

Currently the Finns and their descendents are almost completely integrated into the American community. However, many Finnish-American groups conduct programs and activities that serve to maintain and preserve the Finnish traditions and culture brought by the immigrants, promote cultural and athletic interchanges, and foster close ties with Finland.

Members of the Finnish-American community have developed distinguished careers in a variety of fields including business, construction, music, the arts, education and sports. Others have contributed to the development of their communities and to Finnish-American history, with many significant accomplishments.

#### THE FINNS OF THE WEST

#### INTRODUCTION

The California gold rush of 1849 brought the first Finns to California. Many Finnish seamen, hearing about the gold strikes when they arrived in San Francisco, caught the gold fever, jumped ship, and headed for the gold mining areas in the Sierra Nevada foothills. Successful seamen returning to Finland with money and grand tales aroused great interest. The lure of California gold drew dozens more from ships and directly from Finland. Prior to 1858 the seamen and goldseekers generally were single men, and many returned to the sea. But by 1858 families were beginning to arrive, Finnish family, community, and social activities became established, and the Finns have been part of the Western scene and history ever since.

Most of the goldseekers met only hardship and disappointment. Many of the disillusioned Finns drifted northward into Mendocino County and adjacent areas north of San Francisco in the late 1850's and the 1860's, and into work such as logging, fishing, and farming. They were joined by seamen attracted by the extensive forests of giant redwood trees. Subsequently Finns migrated still further northward, in connection with fishing and logging activities, into Humboldt County and into Oregon. By 1860 a small group of Finns had settled in the Coos Bay-Marshfield area in southern Oregon, and were engaged in logging and sawmill operations. By 1870 the first Finns had settled in Astoria, Oregon.

The construction of transcontinental railroads in the 1860's and later created need for coal, initially in Wyoming. On May 10, 1869, the tracks of the Union Pacific Railroad from the east and the Central Pacific Railroad from the west were joined at Promontory Point in Utah. Chinese laborers, used extensively in the construction of the Central Pacific Railroad, were too small and weak to be productive in the coal mines. Mine operators had heard about the strong and industrious Finnish miners in northern Michigan. Recruiters sent to Michigan were successful in enticing miners to Wyoming. The first Finns came to Carbon, Wyoming, about 1878 to mine coal for the Union Pacific Railroad. Carbon was the first Finnish settlement in the State; by 1888 about 300 Finns were located there. Finns came to Rock Springs in 1879, and later to Hanna and other communities to mine coal.

The lure of gold and silver, as well as copper and coal, drew many Finns to Colorado, Montana, Idaho and other western states from both the east and from Finland, starting in the 1880's. Many also came looking for opportunities in logging, in sawmill op-

erations, in farming, and in homesteading.

During these early years many of the Finns migrating to the West either brought their families, or soon sent for them; and when several families congregated they first built a sauna, then a Finn hall, and their church. These communal activities did much to preserve their language, customs and ethnicity, and their Finnish heritage.

#### THE FINNS IN RUSSIAN ALASKA

But the Finns in California were not the first Finns on the Pacific Coast of North America.

In 1741 Captain Vitus Bering, a Danish explorer employed by Russia, discovered Bering Strait which separates Siberia and North America. Bering may well have been the first European to land in Alaska. In 1784 the Russian Government established a fur trading center at Three Saints Bay, Kodiak Island, the first permanent settlement in and the first capital of Russian America.

The Russian-American Fur Trading Company was organized and chartered in 1799. Alexander Baranof, first governor of Russian America, set up headquarters at

Nova Archangel, near the present Sitka, but the local Tlingit Indians resented their treatment by Baranof and massacred many of the Russian settlers. The town was rebuilt in 1802 at the present site, and Sitka became the capital in 1806. A Finnish carpenter, Alexander Kuparinen from Viipuri, accompanied the Russians to Alaska in 1794, and later took part in the construction at Sitka.

The ceding of Finland to Russia by Sweden, by treaty in September 1809, and its designation as a Grand Duchy, changed the prospects for Finns in Alaska. The Russian-American Fur Company hired Finns as hunters, traders, and craftsmen. The Sitka colony had established Fort Rossia (Fort Ross) in California, only 65 miles northwest from San Francisco, as its southernmost base for trading with the Spanish from Mexico, and the natives. Possibly Finns may have been members of hunting and trading expeditions to this region.

The change in Finland's status provided new opportunities for gifted Finns. Arvid Adolph Etholen, a Finn, on completion of naval training, made his first trip to Alaska in 1817. Starting in 1823 he was assigned command of Russian ships serving Alaska. Later he also carried out explorations in western Alaska.

In 1839 Admiral Etholen was appointed Governor-General of Alaska and served 1840-45. On his voyage to Sitka he brought Finnish artisans and craftsmen to build a Russian church (Greek Orthodox). As Etholen, the artisans, and Finns previously recruited by the Russians were Lutherans he included necessary church items to build a Lutheran church. Etholen was accompanied by a Lutheran pastor, Uno Cygneaus. Initial construction included the sauna and Lutheran church; this church, dedicated in 1841, was the first in Alaska. A pipe organ for the church was brought from Dupat (Tartu) in 1846 (personal communication; Rev. M.L. Meier, 1986). St. Michael's Cathedral, the Russian Orthodox Church, was completed in 1848.

The Etholen years were growth years, and have been termed the golden years in Alaska, both for prosperity and for improvements in the lives of the colonists and the native Alaskans. In earlier years the fur trade had been profitable, and Sitka for many years enjoyed a reputation as a gay and cosmopolitan city, and was the busiest port on the Pacific Coast. But there were troubled years also, and living conditions for most of the colonists were poor.

Rev. Uno Cygneaus served 1840-45 as the first Lutheran minister in Sitka. On his return to Finland he was engaged in seminary training and education. An ardent proponent of public education he was assigned to establish an educational system for Finland, and was honored as "The Father of Finland's Public Schools." The system included manual training, outlined in 1858 by Rev. Cygneaus, and in 1866 made compulsory for all boys in rural schools. Finland thus became the first country to include manual training in its school instruction program.

Another prominent Finn, Captain John Hampus Furu-jhelm, a ship captain, trading company official, and Arctic research explorer, served as the 13th Governor-General of Alaska 1859-64. Governor-General and Madame Furujhelm served Alaska ably and well.

The Finnish hunters, traders, artisans and craftsmen came to Alaska without their families. Many returned to Finland, but others took native wives and elected to remain in Alaska.

The sale of Alaska to the United States in 1867 brought the Russian era to a close. Many of the Finns in Alaska at that time, and perhaps Russians also, stayed there and settled in Sitka, Juneau, or other locations in Alaska, and some drifted south to Seattle, Vancouver and other communities.

# THE CALL OF AMERICA

Finland experienced famine and hard times in the mid-1800's. This, coupled with aggressive building of sailing vessels and development of foreign and domestic trade and commerce by Finnish seaport cities led many men to go to sea. By 1850 the Finnish commercial fleet was substantial, in number of ships and tonnage, and the vessels sailed to all world ports. In 1860 an est-

imated 11,000 Finnish seamen served on Finnish vessels and a comparable number on foreign vessels. The attractions of world ports, including many in America, often led seamen to jump ship, as did the Finnish seamen who came to California in the 1850's and 1860's. The mid-century period was almost the last hurrah for sailing vessels before giving way to steamships.

The famine in Finland forced many Finns to seek relief elsewhere. The coastal area of northern Norway offered opportunities in fishing, farming and copper mining. By 1865 about 6,000 Finns from Oulu and Vaasa provinces were working in Finnmark and Tromso provinces in Norway (Engle, 1977). But life there was severe for fishermen, and farms produced sparse crops owing to poor soil, frost and cold. Underground copper mining, unfamiliar to the Finns, was dangerous and unhealthy, and ore depletion during the 1860's led to eventual stoppage of mining. Michigan mining company agents seeking experienced, strong and industrious miners thus had little trouble recruiting Norwegian, Swedish or Finnish miners for work in northern Michigan's copper country. The first Norwegian Finns emigrated in 1864; some went to the copper mines in northern Michigan, and others to homestead in Minnesota. During the next 20 years nearly 1,000 Finns came toto America by way of Norway

Significant emigration of Finns to America followed in the 1860's and continued into the 1920's. The principal exodus from Finland started about 1880, via Sweden and Norway, mostly from Oulu and Vaasa provinces in northern Finland, then later from other areas also. Many thousands of Suomi-Finns came to America listed as Norwegians or Swedes, and American and Canadian immigration records in the latter 1800's do not tell the full story of the Finnish migration.

The Suomi-Finns and other miners were imported by the mining companies for work in copper mines in Michigan, and in iron-mining areas in Minnesota and Michigan. Many of these miners migrated westward to coal-mining areas in the Rocky Mountain states. Other immigrant Finns came to the East Coast, or the Midwest, where thay had relatives or sponsors. Many went

first to Canada. A few came directly to the western states. Subsequently the Finns moved to other areas in the West where work was available in mining, logging or fishing, or went into homesteading and farming. The majority of these early immigrants, though unskilled, possessed native abilities that helped them adapt to the available jobs.

The combination of America fever, famine and hard times in Finland again in 1893 and 1908, military conscription, and Russification of the Finns added impetus to the exodus. About 360,000 Finns came to the United States between 1864 and 1920, of which 186,000 came during the peak period 1900-14. In 1902 emigration peaked at 23,152. Between 1893 and 1915 over 11,000 small landowners and 63,000 children from ruralrural areas in the northern provinces left Finland; and between 1901 and 1911 only 25,500 of 144,700 emigrants came from cities. Unmarried men usually came first, but many married men came alone to "to make their fortune" and then return to Finland, while others brought their families. Later, girls left Finland to work as servants or become brides of Finns in America. But not all the immigrant Finns found fortune, happiness and contentment in America. Family demands, homesickness and loneliness drew many back. Finnish emigration records show that about one-fourth eventually returned to Finland.

The distribution of Finns in the western states, both Finnish-born, and American-born of Finnish parentage, is shown in the following table. Census data prior to 1910 are unreliable as many immigrating Finns may have been listed as Norwegians, Swedes or Russians; thus only partial data are shown for 1898 and 1910. As the data through 1970 relate only to those born in Finland or to Finnish-born parents the decline in the totals for 1940 and 1970 reflects the passing of the older generation, and controlled immigration.

The 1980 census, for the first time, reported the total number of persons of Finnish extraction. The increase from 12 percent in 1920 to 26 percent in 1980 in the proportion of Finns in America living in the

#### DISTRIBUTION OF FINNS IN THE WESTERN STATES

[1898-1970: Finnish-born and American-born of Finnish parentage. 1980: All persons of Finnish extraction.]

STATE	1898	1910 <sup>2</sup>	1920 <sup>2</sup>	1925	1940 <sup>4</sup>	1970 <sup>5</sup>	1980
ALASKA			e <sub>2,000</sub> <sup>7</sup>	1,000	e <sub>1,000</sub>	681	2,798
ARIZONA			407	640	829	1,347	7,259
CALIFORNIA	7,000	8,996	7,053	13,146	16,858	22,792	60,459
COLORADO		1,857	879	1,479	1,114	1,228	6,132
HAWAII						222	987
IDAHO			989	2,735	1,678	975	3,990
MONTANA	4,000	6,623	3,577	11,367	5,362	2,010	7,490
NEVADA			182	250	307	426	2,228
NEW MEXICO			e <sub>100</sub>	117	227	313	1,527
OREGON	6,000	7,711	6,050	14,957	10,563	7,075	22,653
UTAH		1,535	779	1,187	769	728	3,526
WASHINGTON	6,000	13,258	11,863	27,053	19,899	13,200	39,496
WYOMING	3,000	2,154	856	2,154	1,190	585	2,476
WEST		_	34,735	76,085	59,796	51,592	161,021
UNITED STATES	118,000	215,3528	301,985	422,005	284,290	203,826	615,872
PERCENTAGE: WEST TO U	.S.		12	18	21	25	26

e - Estimated.

#### References:

- 1. S. Ilmonen, 1930, p. 10.
- 2. J. Wargelin, 1924, p. 61.
- 3. S. Ilmonen, 1926, p. 338.
- 4. E. Sulkanen, 1951, p. 22.
- 5. E. Engle, 1975, p. 94-5.
  - 6. U.S. Dept. of Commerce, 1983.
  - 7. H.L. Makinen, 1977.
  - 8. U.S. Dept. of Commerce,

Hist. Abs. of U.S.

West results principally from westward migration in recent decades. Census data for 1980 show also that 19 percent of the total United States population, as compared to 26 percent of the Finnish-American, was located in the West.

This brief history relates to the early Finns and Finnish-Americans in the West, through 1925. The census data through 1980 are presented to indicate the changes in numbers and distribution after 1925 and to illustrate the continuing trend of westward migration of the Finnish-Americans.

#### THE FINNISH COMMUNITY

Finns arriving in America usually settled in their own groups, congregating in "Finntowns" in the city and in the rural and mining communities. They retained their own language, customs and traditions. Later arrivals from Finland came directly to these Finnish communities, for ease in communication, the familiar social environment, and the comfort of the common tie. Other residents considered them clannish. And so they were. They generally stayed aloof from strangers, often married within their own community, and used Finnish as the common language, at home and on the street. Swedo-Finns similarly used Swedish as their common language.

Children in these Finnish communities usually spoke only Finnish until they went to school. Then, as their English language skills improved they would serve as an interpreter, or "tulkki" for their parents and their relatives in contacts with the general community.

The Finnish language was so pervasive that in many contacts with other groups, as in stores, the Coop, and athletics, it was not uncommon to find people of other nationalities speaking Finnish.

Where there are Finns you can expect to find the "sauna" or Finnish steam bath. So it was in these Finntowns, as well as on the farms and in mining communities. Families often had their own private saunas; and larger saunas were operated commercially.

# The Employment Situation

Finnish immigrants to the United States found themselves taced with a somewhat threatening environment. Language difficulties, coupled with generally limited skills, caused problems in employment and settlement.

The first need, of course, was for work providing reasonable income. The Finns soon found they were unprepared for the demands of the available jobs. Skills developed in Finland had little application here. These immigrants, however, were well suited to the demands of heavy manual labor, and many were

forced into difficult and strenuous work. Thus, these and other immigrants were found mostly in the industrial centers, or where there was demand for unskilled labor. In the West they moved into mining, logging, fishing and farming.

Mining. The first Finns, imported by the mining companies, became miners and settled in the vicinity of the mines. They then sent for others of their relatives and friends. Though not miners in their native country these Finns became miners in America. Soon miners from the east were enticed to mines in the West. Later immigrants came directly from Finland to the Western mining communities.

In the West these miners dug copper in Montana and Arizona; coal in Montana, Wyoming, Utah and Washington; gold and silver in Colorado, Nevada, Arizona and Idaho.

The Finnish miners had strength, endurance, were industrious, good timbermen underground, ingenious, and skillful with axe and handtools. But, unable to communicate in English, many were eliminated from supervisory positions and remained principally as mine laborers.

Working conditions in the mines were miserable. In addition to long working hours (at great depths in some mines) ventilation and sanitation were poor, and mining hazards were ever present, including falling rocks, gas, explosions and fire.

Miners' wages were relatively good, but work was erratic owing to mine accidents, strikes, stoppages, and other disruptions. Many Finnish miners and families eventually left the mines to seek other work or go into farming.

Logging. The great redwood trees and Douglas firs of the West Coast and other western timber both intrigued and challenged the Finns. The immigrants took readily to logging and sawmill operations. They were strong, tough and hardy, and many were already experienced woodsmen. Redwood trees with diameters of 17 feet or more, or so big that a single tree was

a full load for a logging train, however, were a tremendous change from the trees in Finland. Thousands of Finns found jobs in logging camps along the Pacific Coast in California, Oregon and Washington.

Logging and sawmill operations generally were conducted on a large scale by timber companies. Lumberjacks lived in lumber camps where living quarters often ranged from poor to miserable. Their hours were long and hard. But a standard requirement for a lumber camp usually was that there be a good cook and plenty of food.

Some logging and sawmill operations were conducted on a smaller scale also; and families could live nearby. In the early period on the California coast small sawmills often were situated at sites where water and water power were available, as along the Mendocino County coast.

The logging industry suffered from strikes, work disruptions and labor problems, as well as market and price problems from time to time, in the early days and later. Accordingly employment and the local economy in the timbering areas varied greatly. At times the cutting of railroad ties produced income to land owners and small-scale timber operators.

Fishing. Fishing was a natural and familiar activity for many immigrant Finns, notably seamen and those from coastal areas in Finland. Soon after 1850 the first Finns were fishing along the Pacific Coast north of San Francisco. Each season they ranged further north from Fort Bragg to Eureka, to Coos Bay/Marshfield in Oregon, to Astoria, and later even to Alaska. Prior to 1870 fishermen migrated from California each season to tish for Columbia River salmon, but by 1870 some settled in Astoria, and the Finnish settlement there developed.

Fishing along the Pacific Coast is rigorous and dangerous, particularly in open longboats. After World War I powerboats with cabins were common. Weather and the sea can be capricious, and so can the salmon catches, both in yield and price. Engle(1975) noted that, in 1906 alone, 78 Finnish fishermen lost their lives fishing for Columbia River salmon.

The early Finns found work in fishing to be spotty and seasonal, a condition that still exists. As Engle (1975) pointed out, "There were no relief programs or unemployment compensation." During labor strikes or layoffs, fishermen had to seek work in other fields.

Many West Coast fishermen, including Finns, spent the World War I period fishing in Alaska to provide essential food supplies. These fishermen ranged from southeastern Alaska to the Bristol Bay region.

A camaraderie developed among the Finnish fishermen along the West Coast, marked by visits and exchanges as they moved up the coast each season to fishing grounds, and(or) had reunions enroute to or in Alaska.

Farming. The early Finnish immigrants came largely from rural areas in Finland, and farm life was familiar to them. Finns seldom remained long in their first jobs in America. It was natural for them to turn to the land. Many went into farming and homesteading at the first opportunity. Others moved from mining towns to the land to get freedom from poverty and mining hazards, stimulated by the desire to have their own place, raise their families, and hopefully enjoy a happier and more comfortable life.

Other. As the Finns became established, they branched out into other occupations such as the crafts, building trades, general and heavy construction, business, commercial ventures, industry, shipyards, longshoremen, etc., and activities in which they could apply their hand skills and knowledge in specific jobs or as jacks-of-all-trades. In many instances talent in the arts, music, science, education, etc., led to opportunities for careers.

## Finn Halls

The Finn hall was the social center of the Finnish community, and the hub of a wide range of activities. One could expect to find one or more Finn halls in any Finntown or wherever Finns congregated. They were used for stage plays, musical programs, cultural events, dances, birthday parties, weddings, anniversaries, funerals, meetings, Finnish language schools, club activities, athletic events, and informal social occasions. Saturday nights were automatically reserved for the hall.

The halls often were used for church services and activities pending construction of a church.

Finn halls had auditoriums, stages, dance floors and, of course, coffee lounges (ravintola) for intermission breaks when coffee and cake (kahvia ja pullaa) would be served. Activities at the hall provided a welcome respite from work for the immigrant and the second-generation Finnish-American families.

The American Finns had built many Finn halls, often with part or all volunteer labor. Hannula (1981) noted that the 10th Street Hall in Berkeley, California, is the largest building constructed completely by volunteer labor. Built by members of the Berkeley Finnish Socialist local the hall was dedicated in 1909, and has been declared a Historical Landmark.

Many communities had several so-called "Finn halls" which were built or developed by organizations to serve their own needs. These halls were given names for identity such as Temperance Society Hall, Socialist Finn Hall, Labor (or Workers') Society Hall (Työ-väentalo), IWW Finn Hall, and Communist Finn Hall. Some halls changed hands during the period of conflict in the Finnish Socialist Federation between 1906 and 1920. Hannula (1981, p. 184) presents an informative discussion of Finn halls.

A few communities in the Western States where Finn halls were or are located include:

California: Berkelev, Eureka, Fort Bragg, Los Angeles, Noyo Hill, Reedley, Rocklin, San Francisco Colorado: Leadville, Telluride
Idaho: Enaville, Mullan
Montana: Butte, Red Lodge
Oregon: Astoria, Portland

Washington: Aberdeen, Grayland, Ilwaco, Raymond,

Seattle, Winlock, Woodland

Wyoming: Carbon, Hanna, Rock Springs

Alaska: Deadwood

Programs and Activities. The Finn halls were a focal point for many organized activities, whatever

the inclination of the operating group.

The Finnish-American Little Theater headed the list of programs and activities. The drama societies (näytelmäseurat) presented almost an endless variety of one- and three-act plays, operettas, comedies and dramas, to enrapt audiences. The play materials were written for the Finnish-American theater or were adapted from published works. The little theater groups associated with the Socialist Finn halls and the IWW Finn halls were especially active. Drama societies frequently presented their productions at other halls in their area or region, thus affording opportunity for interchange and a wider exposure. More complete information on the Finnish-American Little Theater is given by Hannula (1981).

Choral societies (lauluseurat), including womens,

mens and mixed-chorus groups, were popular.

Bands (soittokunnat) were a popular and highly visible activity. The Finnish immigrants brought with them a love of music and a tradition of military and non-military bands, orchestras and ensembles that had been developed in Finland. Many played the kantele, violin, accordion and other instruments for their own pleasure. This musical heritage led them to establish local bands and orchestras as a part of their cultural activities; and instrumental music was included in many of the functions of their organizations. Probably most Finnish-Americans played musical instruments at one time or another.

The earliest bands were formed in Astoria, Oregon, in the 1870's and in northern Michigan in 1877. Subsequently many were organized in Finnish communities notably in the eastern states, and in mining

communities in the west; some communities had several bands. Reportedly almost 100 Finnish-American bands were in existence in the United States by 1921, in connection with Finnish organizations and Finn halls. Band membership was a source of pride, as were the colorful band uniforms.

Bands were an essential part of Finnish functions, especially for parades, summer festivals, concerts and musical competitions. Orchestral music similarly contributed to indoor programs such as concerts, plays, dances and other special occasions. The musical groups had repertoires that ranged from folk melodies and Finnish church songs to transcriptions of classical pieces.

A few western communities where early bands had been organized include:

California: Berkeley (Finnish Comrades Band, Pre-1911), Eureka, Fort Bragg, Rocklin

Colorado: Telluride

Montana: Red Lodge (The Finnish Band, 1890),

Belt, Sand Coulee

Oregon: Astoria

Utah: Clearcreek, Scofield Washington: Carbonado, Winlock Wyoming: Hanna, Rock Springs

Athletics interested the Finns and Finnish-Americans. Athletic groups (urheiluseurat) were common, and inter-group competitions were popular.

Festivals and field-days brought the Finnish-Americans together. Summer Festivals (Kesäjuhlat), such as those held by branches of the American Finnish Socialist Federation (Amerikan Suomalais Sosialisti Osasto) usually were a summer highlight.

# Churches

The immigrant Finns brought their own religion with them. At the time of the early migrations about 99 percent of the inhabitants of Finland were classified as Lutheran.

In the United States many of the early immigrants set out to form their own congregations and to build churches where services could be held in the Finnish language. Others, finding themselves freed of the pressures of the church, elected to remain aloof.

The Lutherans in America, though generally accepting or adhering to the same doctrines of Luther and the Lutheran Church, elected to establish themselves in three principal groups.

The Finnish Apostolic Lutheran Church was organized in 1871, and in 1923 (Wargelin, 1924) ranked second to the Suomi Synod in number of congregations and members.

The Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, the former Suomi Synod (now Suomi Conference), was organized in 1890 in Calumet, Michigan, and represents the largest number of members. In 1896 Suomi College and Theological Seminary was established in Hancock, Michigan, in part to educate pastors.

In 1898, at Rock Springs, Wyoming, the Evangelical Lutheran National Church of America was formed by Suomi-Finns. This body is known today as the National Evangelical Lutheran Church, with headquarters in Ironwood, Michigan.

The freedom of religion prevailing in America gave rise to several non-Lutheran movements including the Finnish Baptist Church, the Finnish Congregational Church, and others.

The following listing includes some of the largest Finnish-American centers, and places where Americans of Finnish lineage live in significant numbers in the Western States, and in which churches of the Suomi Synod and other Lutheran congregations are located. Several smaller communities where other congregations are located or had existed are included.

California: Berkeley, Eureka, Fort Bragg, Los
Angeles, Reedley, Rocklin, San Francisco
Montana: Belt, Butte, Red Lodge, Roberts
Oregon: Astoria, Brownsmead, Carlton,
\*Greasewood (near Pendleton), Portland
Washington: Aberdeen, \*Deep River, Hockinson,
Ilwaco, \*Independence, Naselle, Seattle,
Toledo, \*Winlock, \*Woodland
Wyoming: \*Carbon, \*Hanna, Rock Springs

Note.-From Olin (1957) unless designated by (\*).

## Temperance Movement

Sailors and other immigrant men, especially the singles, met a common problem in their spare time pursuits. Faced with language difficulties, and alone in a strange environment, free from church ties, and with no place to socialize, they turned to the corner saloon. The resulting drunkenness created problems.

Temperance Societies. Commencing in 1885 concerned Finnish community leaders formed temperance organizations that urged total abstinence from liquor and arranged social, cultural and educational activities aimed to attract and interest these immigrant men, young and old. The Finnish temperance societies were successful and filled a critical need. In 1887 the Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood was organized, followed by the Western Temperance League. These societies also promoted and supported choral societies and bands, theatrical clubs, speaking and debating groups, and other significant activities.

Hannula (1981) comments that there must have been more than 500 societies in the United States and Canada. Many of them adopted sentimental names. Samples of names for societies in the West include:

California		
Eureka	Lännen Tähti	Western Star
Eureka	Sovinto	Harmony
Montana		
Red Lodge	Laaksonkukka	Flower of the Valley
Sand Coulee	Vuoriston Ilo	Mountain Joy
Washington		•
Hoquiam	Tyven Satama	Peaceful Harbor
Wyoming		
Carbon	Lännen Rusko	Western Glow
Cumberland	Erämaan Helmi	Desert Pearl
Diamondsville	Lännen Taimi	Western Seedling
Hanna	Vuoriston Ruusu	Mountain Rose
Rock Springs	Auringon Säde	Sun}s Ray
Rock Springs	Valon Lähde	Fountain of Light

Temperance societies were established also in the following communities:

California: Fort Bragg, Noyo Hill, Rocklin.

San Francisco

Colorado: Leadville (1886), Telluride (1890)

Montana: Belt

Oregon: Astoria, Portland

Washington: Aberdeen, Carbonado, Ilwaco, Naselle,

Seattle

The importance of temperance societies diminished with the adoption of prohibition, and changes in programs of churches and other societies. But the temperance societies left a deep and lasting imprint through their achievements in temperance and their cultural contributions.

Finnish Seamens' Mission (San Francisco). In 1892 the Foreign Mission Society of Finland established the Seamens' Mission in San Francisco. The purpose was quite similar to that of the temperance movement. It provided visiting seamen opportunity for participation in social, cultural and religious activities, as an alternate to the street and saloon. It also provided aid to stranded Finnish sailors. The first director was Rev. Martti Tarkkanen, who had founded the Lutheran congregation in 1890. Pastors serving the Mission ministered also in Berkeley, Rocklin, Fort Bragg and Reedley, California. Eventually care of the Mission shifted to the Suomi Synod. The Mission operated until 1958; the building has been given "Historical Landmark" status.

# Organizations

The Finns and Scandinavians enjoy social contacts and group activities, particularly in association with their compatriots, where they share a common language and interests. They also share concern for each other's welfare and often provide needed help and assistance. Several regional and national organizations that have chapters in the West provide opportunity for such contacts and associations.

These organizations conducted active programs that included sports, drama and choral clubs. Choral and recreational committees offered varied social and cultural programs. Lodges and chapters cooperated with other Finnish groups on community projects, Red Cross work and war relief. Individual members often participated in civic affairs and community service.

United Finnish Kaleva Brotherhood and Sisterhood (Yhdistyneet Suomalaiset Kaleva Velyet ja Sisaret Liitto). In 1882 a society called the "United Brotherhood Lodge No. 1" was established and incorporated in San Francisco. It was organized to be a non-political benefit association, with the objectives: to arrange for help to the sick and compatriots in legal straits; to promote social contacts; to provide educational and cultural facilities for lodge members; and to give the deceased a decent burial. In 1892 the United California Finnish Sisternood (Kointähti Lodge No. 1) was chartered. The two were merged in 1948.

The establishment of a beneficial and fraternal organization such as the Brotherhood was significant as it came when benefits were not available to those in need, and 55 years before Social Security.

Astoria Lodge No. 2 was established in 1885, followed by about 30 more. The U.F.K.B.& S. is a West Coast organization.

Lodges established by the mid-1920's include:

California: San Francisco, Fort Bragg, Rocklin,

Eureka, Reedley, Berkeley

Oregon: Astoria, Portland, Quincy

Washington: New Castle, Aberdeen, Seattle, Winlock, Hockinson, Longview-Kelso, Carbonado,

Burnett, Raymond, Woodland, Ilwaco

Alaska: Juneau, Douglas

Idaho: Mackey

Montana: Red Lodge, Belt, Sand Coulee

Wyoming: Rock Springs British Columbia: Ladysmith

Note.-Several lodges were discontinued when changes in local economy caused decline and dispersal of membership. Order of Runeberg. The Order of Runeberg unites in a fraternal organization men, women, youth and children who are interested in Finnish-Swedish culture, heritage and language.

Runeberg Lodges in the West include:

California: Eureka, San Francisco, Berkeley,

Los Angeles, Crescent City,

Kingsburg

Oregon: Portland, Coos Bay

Washington: Seattle, Tacoma, Hoquiam, Everett,

Rochester, Olympia, Port Angeles,

Anacortes, Issaquah

Montana: Butte

Utah: Bingham Canyon, Salt Lake City

Many Finnish-Americans are also members of and interested in the activities of the American-Scandina-vian Foundation which has chapters in western cities including San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, and Portland.

In addition, many local Finnish-American societies and clubs, and other groups and organizations, have conducted significant programs touching on Finnish-American interests, tradition and culture.

# Newspapers

The immigrant Finns were intensive readers of Finnish-language publications. Their literacy level was generally high; much above that for other nationalities. The Finnish newspapers and periodicals were an indispensable feature of Finnish life in America. They served two primary purposes: to introduce the immigrants to the customs, political and social institutions in the country; and to keep the immigrants in touch with the old and new worlds (Kolehmainen, 1947).

Wargelin (1924, p. 122) commented that by 1924 more than 100 Finnish-language newspapers had been started in the United States since A.J.Muikku published the first, the "Amerikan Suomalainen Lehti" (American Finnish Paper) in 1876. Most lasted only a few years, owing to lack of support. The newspapers published served religious and educational interests as well as the workingman and young people.

Newspapers read by western Finns usually came from the east. But several were published in Astoria, Oregon, including:

Toveri (The Comrade), 1907-30 Toveritar (The Womens' Comrade), 1911-30 Lännen Uutiset (The Western News), 1905-13; 1946-Lännen Suometar (The Western Finn), 1922-46

The following eastern newspapers were available to western readers in addition to those with a religious emphasis:

New Yorkin Uutiset (The New York News),
Brooklyn, NY, since 1906
Raivaaja (The Pioneer), Fitchburg, MA,
since 1905
Työmies-Eteenpäin (The Finnish-American
Workingman-Forward), Superior, WI, since 1903
Veljeysviesti (The Message of Brotherhood),
Vancouver, WA, since 1924

# Cooperative Associations

"Co-ops" and "Finns." These terms seem almost to be synonymous. The cooperative movement in the United States has been influenced by Finnish immigrants who put aside their religious, social and political differences to work together. The spirit of cooperation seems to be ingrained in the Finns. Perhaps it stems from the Finnish heritage of mutual aid and collective effort represented by the "talkoot" (bees, group efforts) and work for the common good.

Cooperatives, both consumer and marketing, have played an important part in the life of the Finnish immigrant community. Where there were Finns often there also were co-ops. The Finns wanted to shop in places they could call their own, obtain ethnic specialty foods, and communicate in Finnish; and Finnish was the dominant language in Finn Co-ops. They sought to save money through combined purchases. Through marketing co-ops they could sell in larger quantities, handle their produce and products more efficiently, and command better prices. Thus there have been cooperative apartments and homes, bakeries, groceries, clothing stores, credit unions, mortuaries, newspapers,

restaurants and boarding houses, saunas, farms and dairies, fisheries and canneries, service stations, telephone associations and more.

The Finnish-American cooperative movement was basically a democratic, grass-roots activity, and a part of the Finnish-American labor and socialist movement. The cooperative associations served to place control of activities in the hands of the membership. The co-ops were highly successful in the early decades of this century, and by 1920 more than 150 Finnish co-ops were in existence in the United States, many of them in the western states.

A few of the early cooperative enterprises in the West in which the Finns were involved include:

Astoria, OR: Union Fishermens' Cooperative

Packing Company. Incorporated 1897

Fort Bragg, CA: Consumers and Producers Co-op.

Founded 1923

Grayland, WA: Cranberry Growers Association Woodland, WA: Farmers Cooperative Trading Co.

Incorporated 1917

Consumer cooperatives were established in many western communities.

# The Labor Movement

The history of the labor movement is highly complex, and beyond the limited scope of this brief history. But Finnish-Americans have been a vital part of that movement, and intimately involved. Therefore some reference is essential.

Prior to 1900 working conditions in mines, mills and shops were notoriously poor. Unionization struggles, seeking improvement, occurred between 1890 and 1910. The Finns were there when wage increases and improved working conditions were requested --- and ignored --- and often in the lead when strikes were called.

Strikes around the turn of the century were bitter, and frequently force was used against the strikers. In 1899 at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, Federal troops were sent against silver and lead miners, and all known union men in the area were arrested. Several hundred

of them were imprisoned for months in camps. In 1914 at Ludlow, Colorado, strikers and their families, evicted from the company town, set up a tent colony near town. On April 20, 1914, the Colorado State Militia raked the tent colony with macine-gun fire, and then burned the tents, attacking and beating anyone who resisted (Hannula, 1981, p. 160).

The Finnish Socialist Federation, formed in 1906, enjoyed the golden years of the Finnish socialist movement 1906-14. Since 1914 the history of the Finnish working class was very stormy. The Federation suffered serious schisms in 1914 (over Industrial Unionism, the I.W.W.) and in 1919 (over Communism). When nearly 60 branches of IWW members left the Finnish federation in the First Schism many branches took the Finn hall with them, and the Socialist Finn hall became the IWW Finn hall. The second schism ( the New Schism) destroyed the Finnish Socialist Federation, and seriously affected democratic socialism in the United States. The reader is referred to Hannula (1981, p. 196-211), and other sources for more complete discussion of the labor situation.

Unionization and wage and contract negotiations were a continuing struggle. Considerable progress was achieved during the first quarter of the century, but more was needed. In the West strikes and brief work stoppages were occasionally involved. The general working conditions improved gradually, but there were still many problems and differences to be resolved.

#### THE FINNS IN THE WESTERN STATES

A brief review of the history, activities and experiences of Finns that migrated to the western states in the latter 1800's and early 1900's is given in the following presentations. The review gives emphasis to the distribution, work and some problems of the early Finns, and a few developments during the early 1900's.

Many of the Finns migrating to the West had immigrated originally to the East Coast or Midwest, and then moved west. Others came to the West directly from Finland. Relocations in the west were commonplace also owing to changes in working conditions and the local economy.

Brief summaries of the Finns in the individual states are arranged in groups of states from east to west, except Alaska.

Finnish communities of any appreciable size almost invariably had established Finn halls, temperance societies, parishes and churches, and chapters of labor societies. Reference to these for each community is repetitious. Accordingly, pertinent references for many communities may be omitted, all or in part, and the availability can be inferred.

A few states such as Montana, Washington, Oregon and California have large Finnish-American populations. But the presence of fewer Finns in the other states is significant in demonstrating the distribution and activities of the Finns in those states.

# Alaska

The period between the United States purchase of Alaska in 1867 and the Yukon gold rush of 1897-1903 was marked by several developments. Finnish seamen and fishermen from west coast fishing areas went to Alaska drawn by the excellent fishing prospects in southeastern Alaska and the Bering Sea region. The name of Captain Gustave Niebaum became well known during this period as a fur trader and explorer, and in the development of the Alaska Territory.

The discovery of gold at Juneau in 1880 drew miners to the Juneau-Douglas area, including many Finns. The discovery in 1896-97 of gold in the upper Yukon River basin in the Klondike area, Yukon Territory,

created the famous Gold Rush and the "Trail of '98" as miners climbed over Chilkoot Pass to reach the interior. Gold was found also downstream in Alaska at the Alaska-Canada boundary, in Nome in 1899, Fairbanks in 1903, the Seward Peninsula, and at other locations. Alaska is rich in a variety of other metals and minerals also: exploration and mining has been extensive, with substantial production of coal and copper. Finnish miners have participated in essentially all of these mining activities.

Active gold mining continued in the Juneau-Douglas area in the Alaska-Juneau (A-J, or "Ei-Jei" to Finns) and Treadwell mines until World War I. The A-J mine operation continued until World War II, but the Treadwell mine, with workings below sea level, was flooded and abandoned about 1917. After the Treadwell mine closing many Finns drifted from Juneau to other mining areas or into fishing and other activities. The fishing industry in Alaska involved fishermen from Alaska, as well as west coast fishermen there for the season, including many Finns. Logging was an important activity also in the early 1900's.

Finnish miners at Deadwood, a gold-mining camp about 100 miles northeast from Fairbanks, and about 40 miles southwest of Circle on the Yukon River, established a Finnish Socialist Hall before 1910 (picture, Hannula, 1981, opp. p. 155). The Deadwood Post Office served this mining area 1906-24.

The city of Anchorage was established in 1915 at the site of an Alaska Railroad construction camp and headquarters. The first white child born at that camp (in 1913) was born to Finnish parents; Leo Saarela, a mining engineering graduate of the University of Alaska, later became lerritorial Commissioner of Mines.

Mining was active in south-central Alaska in the early 1900's. Mining and construction of the Alaska Railroad provided employment for many, including Finns.

In 1925 Leonard Seppala's dramatic iron-man solo dog-sled run from Anchorage to Iditarod to Nome to deliver serum to halt a devastating diphtheria epidemic caught public attention. Previously he had raised sled dogs and earned a reputation in dog-sled competitions 1915-17. Seppala lived his latter years in Nome.

The Anchorage Suomi-Finland Club, established in 1920, provides an active social and cultural program. It is one of the oldest social organizations in Alaska.

Captain Gustave Niebaum (Nybom). Captain Niebaum (1842-1908) is honored in history as a mariner, trader, explorer, scholar and botanist. and as one of the pioneering giants who helped develop the Alaska Territory, Pacific Northwest and California. Niebaum, born in Helsinki, sailed around the world 1858-60 in a Finnish barkentine, and visited Alaska. In 1861, after receipt of his master's license, he returned to Alaska as master of another vessel. During 1865-68, for the Russian-American Fur Trading Company, he sailed the Bering Sea-Arctic Ocean region for fur trading and extensive exploration of the western Alaska mainland. In 1868 he brought \$600,000 worth of various furs to San Francisco, a value surpassing any brought by others from a single expedition.

In 1868 Captain Niebaum became a member of a new venture, the Alaska Commercial Company. This firm obtained the exclusive right to take fur seals on the Pribilof Islands for 20 years with rent at \$9,700,000, an amount \$2,500,000 greater than the \$7,200,000 paid for Alaska in 1867. Later he originated a project for canning Alaska salmon, a procedure that has given employment to thousands of men in Alaska. The firm maintained its offices in San Francisco, and over the years both the firm and Captain Niebaum prospered.

Captain Niebaum built a palatial home in San Francisco where he lived until it burned in 1907. In 1879 he purchased a large tract of land in Napa Valley near Rutherford, and established an estate and the Inglenook Winery. Before construction, however, he read all available books on viticulture, and also visited the great wine-growing countries of Europe for study of soils, temperatures, length of growing season, and rainfall. The Captain made Inglenook a model vine-yard. The employees were mostly Finnish-Americans, and the Captain treated them well. The celebrated vine-yard and winery known by this name still produces wines of exceptional quality.

#### Arizona

Mining of gold, silver and copper probably drew the early Finns to Arizona, where numerous mines were in operation. The number of Finns was small, however, and they were scattered among the several mining communities, singly or in small groups of families.

Bisbee, in southeast Arizona, became internationally famous during the mining rush of the 1880's after discovery of the Copper Queen Lode. Mines there produced over \$2 billion in copper, gold, silver, lead and zinc. A small number of Finns lived in Bisbee for many years; sometimes their number exceeded 100. Finns had lived and worked also in nearby Douglas, Warren, Lowell and McNeal.

Miami and nearby Globe, 90 miles east of Phoenix, had booms in silver and copper mining, and copper is still mined in large quantities. Several hundred Finns had lived in this area.

Health problems, or work other than mining may have brought some Finns to Arizona in the past, but they probably were few in number.

# New Mexico

New Mexico is rich in metals such as copper, gold, silver and zinc, and these have been mined extensively since the coming of railroads caused a boom in both cattle ranching and mining in the 1880's. The State also has great petroleum and coal reserves, and is the chief potash-producing state in the United States; the potash is mined near Carlsbad.

But Finns appear to have been in New Mexico only since about 1913, mostly as miners in Progresso, and the number of the early Finns had been small. Ilmonen (1926) had estimated the Finnish population at only 117 in 1925, mostly miners, with some farmers. The 1970 census data indicated only 313 Finns, born in Finland or of Finnish-born parents; and the 1980 census showed only 1,527 persons of Finnish extraction.

#### Colorado

Finns have lived in Colorado since about 1880. The early Finns were engaged principally in gold and silver mining. Their numbers were small, with less than 2,000 in the State in 1910. They were concentrated mainly in Leadville and Telluride, where they carried on typical social and community activities.

The earliest Finnish community in Colorado was established at Leadville, about 80 miles southwest of Denver; at the peak about 300 Finns were there. The town, at an altitude of 10,200 feet, has a rigorous climate, and working conditions were rough. It wasn't easy for the families either, for Finntown was still higher, 1,000 feet above town!

Gold had been mined since 1860, but gave way to a great silver boom in 1878, when a troublesome black sand was found to be carbonate of lead, full of silver. The mines produced other metals also.

In 1886 the "Iltatähti"(Evening Star) temperance society was formed and a meeting hall built.

Unionization and union demands resulted in a strike in 1896 that closed all the mines in Leadville, and the strike was long, bitter and notoriously violent.

Telluride, in southwestern Colorado 50 miles north of Durango, and over the mountains west of the famous Silverton-Ouray mining region, had highly productive gold and silver mines. The first Finns came in 1886, from Leadville, and by 1890 about 500 Finns were in the area. A temperance society and band were established, and a meeting hall built. Ilmonen (1926) noted that Telluride had continued to be the principal Finnish community in Colorado, but the number of Finns there had declined to a little more than 300.

In addition, Finns had mined coal in Somerset and vicinity, near Grand Junction, since 1903, and Victor, near Colorado Springs, since 1898, and worked in stone quarries at Lyons, near Longmont.

Denver has a substantial Swedo-Finnish population. Many Swedish-speaking Finns, generally from northwestern Finland, came to the Denver area in the early migrations, and that area has continued to be attractive. Finnish-speaking Finns there are fewer in number. Some time during the 1906-20 period a chapter of the Finnish Socialist Federation had existed in Denver.

# Wyoming

The first Finns came to Carbon, Wyoming, about 1878 to mine coal for the Union Pacific Railroad. Carbon was the first Finnish settlement in the State, and by 1888 about 300 Finns were located there. Finns came to Rock Springs in 1879, and later to other communities to mine coal. The principal coal-mining areas were in southwestern Wyoming near Rock Springs and Kemmerer, and south-central Wyoming at Carbon and Hanna near Rawlins. Prior to 1878 Finns may have been involved in the construction of the railroad.

By 1893-94 the mines at Carbon were petering out, and were soon closed, forcing the miners to move elsewhere. Many moved to nearby Hanna. Today few traces remain of Carbon.

Finns had been mining coal at Hanna since 1886, and there seemed to be plenty of work in the mines. A temperance society was established in 1890, followed soon by formation of a parish, and construction of a Finn hall. A band was formed in the mid-90's.

Hanna No. I mine was famous for its thick coal vein. It was also very gaseous, with constant danger of explosions and fire. A fire in the mid-90's closed the mine for two years. Then a tragic gas explosion in June 1903 took the lives of 169 miners, including 93 Finns. This closed the mine for good. A memorial monument has been placed at this site.

At Rock Springs group activities were lively in the 1890's when about 500 Finns were in the area, and the usual social and community organizations were formed, including a band. Enough Finns had gathered in the Diamondville-Kemmerer area so that similar organizations developed there also.

The closing of the Hanna No. I mine forced miners to seek work elsewhere. Strikes, unionization activities, and the Socialist movement created turmoil. The Finns were active in these efforts and incurred the enmity of the mine owners; and later were blackballed by them. The miners and their families were forced out of the area, and had to seek other work. These developments, coupled with the conversion by the railroads from coal to oil caused decline in coal mining in the early 1900's. Ilmonen (1926) had

estimated that about 3,000 Finns were in Wyoming in 1900. By 1920 there were less than 1,000.

In addition to extensive reserves of coal, petroleum, natural gas, and other minerals Wyoming also has valuable grazing and agricultural lands. By 1900 several Finnish families had elected to start farming and cattle ranching near Medicine Bow. As mining and jobs declined many Finnish miners turned to the land, in Wyoming and other areas.

#### Montana

The railroads, mining, logging, farming and ranching all had an influence on bringing Finns to Montana. The first Finns came soon after mining started in the 1860's. By 1890 Finnish communities were established in mining and logging towns. During the first two decades of this century a strong move from mining towns to farming and cattle ranching developed, stimulated by desire for freedom from poverty and mining hazards. By the end of this period about one quarter of the more than 10,000 Finns in the State had turned to cattle raising and farming.

Butte, with several thousand Finns, was the largest Finnish center in Montana. Copper mining was the principal activity, as Butte was situated veritably on a mountain of copper. Finnish miners often were given heavy, hard jobs such as in shaft-sinking operations. The Finns enjoyed a broad and active social, cultural and community program. But Finns in this area, as in many mining communities, were migratory, owing to strikes, work disruptions, mine accidents, and the search for work. On June 8, 1917, an explosion and fire in the Speculator Mine took the lives of 166 men, including several Finns.

Red Lodge, southwest of Billings, also with several thousand Finns, was the second largest Finnish center. The first Finns came in 1888. Coal mining was the principal activity. In 1910 one fourth of the population of Red Lodge was Finnish. The Rauhan Toivo (Hope for Peace) temperance society, established in 1890, built the Finnish Opera House in 1897; this was the center for a wide range of activities. Later, activities were centered at the Workers Hall. Many families homesteaded in the vicinity of Red Lodge.

Coal was mined also in the Sand Coulee-Belt-Stock-ett area near Great Falls. Finns had lived in Sand Coulee since 1887. The work peaked about 1895, and the Finnish population also peaked at nearly 1,000.

At Belt work and activities were at a high level 1890-1900, with about 500 Finns, and community activities were extensive, including a library and a choir.

As demand for coal slackened following conversion by the railroads from coal to oil the Finns gradually drifted away from coal mining, with many going into farming in the nearby Highwood area. By 1925 only about 30-40 families (about 200 Finns) remained in the vicinity of Sand Coulee and Belt.

In contrast to mining, Finns at Roberts and Washoe, near Red Lodge, and at Highwood, Geyser and Big Sandy, near Great Falls, were involved in farming, ranching and cattle raising. About 150 Finns were at Roberts, with many on their lands since the late 1890's. Finns had been in the Geyser area since 1903.

Finns had been employed in logging and sawmill operations at Bonner-Milltown near Missoula since 1879 and at Elliston-Deer Lodge since 1887. Lumber and forest products continue to be an important part of the economy of northwestern ontana.

# Utah

Utah offers extensive opportunities for farm agriculture in addition to mining of a wide range of minerals and metals. The early Finns, however, seemingly opted to go into mining rather than farming, possibly because farmlands were generally owned by the Mormons. About 1,500 Finns were in the State in the early 1900's, principally in Scofield and Clearcreek.

Finns had lived in the Clearcreek area, near Price, since 1896, mining coal. Labor conflicts and strikes eventually led to most of the Finns leaving the area, and by 1925 only a few remained.

Scofield, a coal-mining center west of Price, and the oldest Finnish community in the State, had about 300 Finns in 1900. These Finns had extensive group activities and had established a temperance society and a band.

In October 1900 a disastrous and tragic gas explosion in the coal mine took the lives of 325 miners, including 63 Finns. The Suomalainen Kansallis-Rait-

tius-Veljeysseura (Finnish National Temperance Brotherhood) provided assistance to the surviving families. Some assistance also was volunteered by the mining company. After the disaster the Finnish population in Scofield declined, and remained much below the 1900 levels.

Finns had gathered in other coal-mining areas, and in copper-mining areas as at Bingham-Copperfield, but only in small groups. Bingham Canyon, southwest of Salt Lake City, is the site of North America's largest open-pit copper mine.

#### Nevada

The early Finns in Nevada were few in number, perhaps less than 500. Gold and silver mining was the principal occupation.

More than 100 Finns were in the small mining town of Virginia City, near Reno, around the turn of the century. This area was the mining metropolis of the State in the 1870's, made famous by the discovery of the Comstock Lode, one of the richest deposits of lode gold and silver ever discovered.

The boom in silver mining at Tonopah, halfway between Reno and Las Vegas, which started in 1900 and peaked in 1913, brought more than a hundred Finns to that area. Later, as the boom slowed, several single men and some families moved to the Finnish cooperative land venture at Redwood Valley, California, 100 miles north of San Francisco.

Goldfield, a mining camp 25 miles south of Tonopah, experienced a fabulous boom in the early 1900's following discovery of one of the West's largest gold deposits. Several tens of Finnish miners participated in this mining activity.

Only a few Finns were in Reno in the early 1900's.

## Idaho

The forests of Idaho yield large quantities of lumber. The mountains yield minerals of great value. Finns have been in Idaho since 1880 in logging and mining, and later in farming as irrigated agriculture

developed. Their number was estimated by Ilmonen as nearly 3,000 in the first quarter of this century. The early Finns were located principally in northern Idaho.

Mullan and Kellogg, mining towns, are two of the oldest Finnish centers in Idaho. They are in the billion-dollar Coeur d'Alene mining district in northern Idaho, which produces lead, silver, gold and zinc. The Sunshine Silver Mine, in Kellogg, is the largest in the United States. The Finns came to these towns in the late 1880's and the first families came in the 1890's.

The Finnish community in Mullan reached a peak of 350-400 in the late 1920's (Mullan population, 2,500) and both the Finnish and the town population have declined since. Mining was the principal occupation of the early Finns, but some went into agriculture and business. The Suomi Hall has been the long-time center of activities -- plays, dances, concerts, Christmas programs, special occasions, etc.

The community of Enaville, near Kellogg, had two small Finn halls in the early 1900's.

Coeur d'Alene is a major lumbering and milling center as well as a mining center. Many Scandinavians live in the area. Finns have been there since 1906, and the Finnish community includes many tens of families and single men.

McCall, in the Payette River valley 100 miles north of Boise, had a significant Finnish farming community, which included about 55 families, nearly 500 Finns. The first Finns came from Pendleton, Oregon. A branch of the Finnish Socialist Federation was active in McCall sometime during the period 1906 to 1920 (Hannula, 1981).

## Washington

Washington's resources and opportunities in lumbering, farming, fisheries and mining attracted the early Finns. Finnish settlement began in the latter 1870's when Finns started farming at Deep River and Naselle in southwest Washington, and at Brush Prairie north of Portland, Oregon. Subsequent settlements developed at Seattle, Aberdeen and in the interior.

By 1910 about 13,000 Finns had settled in Washington, more than in any other western state. By 1925 about one-third of the 27,000 Finns in the State lived on farms, with many of the remainder involved in logging, sawmill operations and fishing. Finns living in the cities generally were skilled workers, with many in the building trades or in construction.

In 1925 there were about 100 Finnish communities in the State, nearly all in the western half. Most were small with only a few hundred Finns, grouped near four large Finnish population centers such as Seattle, Aberdeen-Hoquiam, Vancouver-Kelso and Spokane.

Seattle Area. Finns have lived in Seattle since 1880, and their numbers reached about 5,000 in 1925. Seattle is a key port for shipping and travel, foreign and coastal, and long has been a regional trading center and important in shipbuilding, military and naval operations. The port at Seattle boomed during the crest of the Klondike and Alaska gold rushes. The Finns were involved in a number of occupations and fields of work; and by 1925 many were engaged in the professions and in business enterprises.

Finns had been involved in coal mining at Burnett, New Castle and Carbonado since 1888; raising fruit and produce in the Kent and Issaquah areas since 1889; and fishing in the Puget Sound region.

Aberdeen-Hoquiam. The Grays Harbor area on the Pacific Coast is another large Finnish center. The first Finns came in 1890. In 1925 about 5,000 Finns were located there, with several hundred more in nearby farming areas. These cities are sawmill, lumber and wood produsts centers, as well as seaports. Finns were very much involved in business enterprises and commercial enterprises and the professions. They also enjoyed social, cultural and fraternal activities that included contacts with other Finnish communities in Washington and Oregon.

Finns settled in nearby Grayland commencing in 1914 and were among the first cranberry growers, a major industry in this area. They were instrumental in the establishment of the Cranberry Growers Association, and were the early presidents and officers. They were active also in community development. Evidently these

Grayland Finns enjoy dancing; reportedly two dance halls were built solely for dancing!

About 1,000 Finns were in the Raymond area south of Aberdeen in 1925, involved mostly in fishing and in logging/sawmill operations. At Ilwaco, along the Columbia River, salmon fishing was the principal occupation.

Vancouver-Kelso. This region, in Washington along the Columbia River north of Portland, has many small farming communities where Finns have lived since the latter 1870's. These include Brush Prairie, Hockinson, Woodland and Kalama. Brush Prairie is one of the oldest and most extensive farming areas for Finns, who came as homesteaders in 1879. Kelso is also an important fishing and canning center.

Woodland. The first Finns came to Woodland in 1903. They were joined in 1909-10 by Finns who came to Woodland from the mines in Butte, Montana. Many came to homestead, have their own farm, and get away from mine dusts and dangers. These Finns were truly pioneers as they built their roads, houses, farm buildings and saunas, cleared the land of trees and brush for farm land, and developed their farms. Nearly 100 families moved into this area in the 1900-40 period.

A Finn hall built in 1916 was the social and cultural center for the Finnish community. A Finn Hall marker erected at the site during the 1976 Bi-Centennial serves to commemorate the hall and the pioneers.

Winlock. In 1903 Finns started coming to Winlock, 25 miles north of Kelso, to establish homes and farms. Work in logging camps and sawmills sustained them until they could develop the farms. The lands required clearing, plowing and seeding; but the farms took shape slowly. Then the timber became scarce and the logging camps and mills closed.

The resourceful Finns, having had some success in brooding chickens, built poultry houses and stocked them with chicks from Petaluma, California. The experiment succeeded. Soon the Finns built their own hatcheries, extended their poultry industry. Winlock became famous for its egg production and chick hatcheries. A result of the success was the return of jobs

and a boom in other area business. By the 1930's half of the town population of 1,000 was Finnish-American. One of the earliest settlers, Tenna Randt, in 1949 gave the Finns credit for the turnaround when she said:

"The Finns saved Winlock after the big sawmills left.
Their hard work has made Winlock what it is today."

A mural memorializing the Finnish pioneer experience 1903-30 was hung in January 1976 in the Winlock Banking Center of Pacific National Bank of Washington.

Spokane. Spokane had a Finnish-American population of nearly 1,000 in the 1920's. The city is an important railroad center, is located close to the Coeur d'Alene mining district, and is the economic and cultural center of the "Inland Empire."

## Oregon

Evergreen forests, large rivers, hordes of salmon, snow-capped mountains, verdant valleys, and great dry plains combine to make Oregon a land of opportunity.

The first Finns to settle in Oregon came north from California to the Coos Bay-Marshfield area in southwest Oregon in 1860, and worked as loggers or in the sawmills. By 1870 they numbered more than 100.

In the early 1860's Finnish sailors from San Francisco, having heard about the great salmon fishing on the Columbia River, landed at the small village of Astoria near the mouth of the Columbia. They came to try the fishing. It was good, they stayed for the season, and the Finnish settlement at Astoria began. They returned each year for several years. In 1865 a boarding house was built for the seasonal Finnish fishermen. In 1870 a small group ended the annual migrations from San Francisco and settled in Astoria.

Substantial Finnish communities developed subsequently around Astoria and Portland, and the Pendleton area. Modest growth occurred in the Coos Bay area.

Astoria Area. The Finnish community in Astoria became firmly established in 1875 when a Finnish group arrived from Ashtabula Harbor, Ohio. The growth that followed was rapid and Astoria soon became known as "Finntown" and the "Helsinki of the West." By 1880

about 260 Finns had settled in Astoria, when total population was 5,720; by 1925 there were nearly 5,000 Finns in the total population of 20,000. Astoria developed into one of the major Finnish centers on the West Coast.

Salmon fishing and canning was the principal industry, although Astoria also had sawmills. Some salmon canneries had been founded by Finns in the 1870's and 1880's, including the Union Cannery, from which the Uniontown area name was derived; but these ventures were short-lived. The industry experienced a long and bitter strike in 1896. Failure of the strike led to establishment of the Union Fishermen's Co-operative Packing Company in 1897, with a largely Finnish membership. This was a successful enterprise.

The Finns in Astoria settled in their own groups in two areas; upper Astoria on the east side, and Uniontown on the west side. After 1900 Uniontown had the larger Finnish population, and was thoroughly Finnish in language, customs and culture.

In addition to the fisheries the Finns entered into many business and commercial enterprises, shipbuilding and boatyards, and the professional fields.

Social and cultural activities and societies included temperance societies, the U.F.K.B.& S. Astoria Lodge No. 2, and churches. Several newspapers were published in Astoria, as previously noted, with the socialist "Toveri" (Comrade), started in 1907, probably the most significant.

The early Finns settled in the 1880's in several small communities in the general vicinity of Astoria. These included Brownsmead, Clatskanie, Hamlet, Kerry, Knappa, Olney, Quincy and Svensen. Farming and cattle raising were the principal occupations, but fishing also was an important activity for Finns in the communities along the Columbia River.

Portland. Portland, the "City of Roses", about 100 miles upstream from the mouth of the Columbia River, is a major seaport with an excellent harbor. Grains, truit, and wood products were shipped in great quantities to world markets.

Finnish seamen wintered in Portland as early as 1870, and Finnish settlement began in 1873. By 1890 the Finnish population was sufficient to support group

social and community activities and societies. The 1905 Lewis and Clark World's Fair brought Finns to Portland, and many settled there. The Finns were involved in a wide range of work including fishing, shipping, the building trades, and construction, as well as in merchandising, business and the professions.

Consul Gustaf Wilson. Gustaf (Hennilä)Wilson, born in Finland in 1827, went to sea in 1842. He reached San Francisco in 1849-50, jumped ship and went to the goldfields, and moved on to Oregon in 1853.

Following military service in Indian wars, and public service in Josephine County, he settled in Portland in 1866. There he entered the real-estate business, and later ran a flour mill in McMinnville.

In 1883 this energetic and enterprising Finnish immigrant was designated Vice-Consul for Russia in Portland, principally representing Finnish immigrants and sailors, and was popular and highly respected. At the Finland Day program at the 1894 San Francisco World's Fair he gave talks in Finnish and English. He served until 1905.

Pendleton Area. Finns started coming to homestead in the Pendleton country in 1877. This area is dry prairie and excellent for wheat.

The first of these "Wheat Finns" was Elias Peltoperä, who had hear in San Francisco in 1876 about the good land in Oregon. He promptly headed for Portland and Pendleton, settled on a site near Adams, east of Pendleton, and built a hut. Then he wrote friends in the Michigan copper-mining area about the free land without boulders, tough roots or stumps.

The first newcomers from Michigan arrived in the spring of 1877. They were appalled by the sight of the open prairie with wild animals and unfriendly Indians roaming about, no lakes, no streams, and no forests. Their first reaction was to return to Michigan, but they did stay, and readily obtained homesteads, mostly in the general area of Greasewood, about 11 miles northeast of Pendleton. Additional groups from Michigan followed.

These homesteaders did have some problems such as hauling lumber for houses from Pendleton; hauling firewood 25 miles; Indian problems; water supplies;

ground squirrels; and limits to sizes of farms that could be managed.

But the Finns and other homesteaders persevered. As early as 1880 Pendleton and the surrounding region became known as one of the best wheat-raising areas in the West.

Living conditions improved each year. Schools and a church were built, social groups and contacts developed, with many community activities. Farming methods and equipment also improved.

By the turn of the century many homesteaders had developed extensive and productive wheat ranches. The first settlers were hardy, self-reliant Finns. With their Finnish "Sisu" and in spite of many hardships, through their labor they turned the Greasewood country into one of the richest and most progressive settlements in the West.

Coos Bay(Marshfield)-North B-nd. Subsequent to 1870 Finns continued moving into this area in southwest Washington. Logging and sawmills provided employment for many. Others went into homesteading, dairy farming, shipbuilding and shopwork, in addition to fishing. The Finnish community in this area was isolated from the Finnish centers in northern Oregon, thus limiting interchange and cooperative activities.

# California

The gold rush of 1849 brought the first Finns to California, but the forests of big trees, the fisheries, shipping, agriculture, and mining of gold and other metals continued to draw the Finns long after the gold rush. San Francisco was the port of entry for the early Finns. Later the Finns migrated to California from the east by rail. Ilmonen (1926) estimated that by 1925 there were more than 13,000 Finnish-Americans in California, with about three-fifths of them in the San Francisco Bay area.

In the 1850's and 1860's disappointed Finnish gold miners and others drifted northward along the Pacific Coast to Mendocino and Humboldt Counties and into logging, fishing or farming. Some went into farming and other activities in the interior valleys. New Finnish immigrants and migrating Finns from the east

joined the early Finns at several locations and significant Finnish communities developed as at Fort Bragg, Eureka, Rocklin, Reedley and Los Angeles. Many stayed in the San Francisco Bay area which offered a wide range of job opportunities.

The North Coast. The logging of the giant redwoods in northern California which started in the 1880's brought a rush of loggers. For decades the timber industry experienced growth. Fishing remained an important industry.

Fort Bragg, 175 miles from San Francisco, became an important center for logging and sawmills in Mendocino County. The first Finns arrived before 1880. Several decades later their number reached nearly 1,000. The Finnish community had an extensive social and cultural program, with several halls, societies and a band.

At the time of the Union Lumber Company strike in 1903 it was noted that the greatest number of Finns had been in lumber camps then than at any prior time.

Many Finnish families at Fort Bragg settled 6 miles east on Noyo Hill, commencing in the late 1880's, and about 110 people were there in 1910. The families jointly established a school in 1891, a hall in 1905, and their own telephone company in 1918. Noyo Hill is a fine example of the Finnish tradition of cooperation and sharing.

Nearby, a 4-family cooperative community, Sointula, 8 miles from Fort Bragg, was established in 1904; and lasted until 1958. The children attended a one-room school that had 25-30 students, and typically spoke only Finnish at home. Within two months all the children in that school spoke Finnish.

Redwood Valley, another Finnish cooperative land venture, or commune, 35 miles inland from Fort Bragg, was started in 1912 by copper miners from Butte, Montana, laid off by Anaconda Copper Co. during a strike. They bought a large ranch, took a large mortgage, and incorporated the commune as the Finnish Colony, Inc. Several single men and families moved to the land from Butte, Montana, Tonopah, Nevada, and Oregon; and more families came in 1919. The ranch house was a communal dining hall and the scene of many festive events.

Various economic ventures and crops were tried with moderate success, but with occasional reverses. Redwood Valley served also as a vacation place for Finns from San Francisco and the Bay area. In 1922 owing to heavy mortgage costs and taxes the commune members subdivided and distributed the land; several families remained as a commune on part of the land, but the mortgage was foreclosed in 1932. A total of 33 families had lived at the colony. Some of the original lot owners still live on the original lands.

Eureka, in Humboldt County, about 100 miles north of Fort Bragg and also an important logging, sawmill and wood products center, had more than 500 Finns, the first coming in 1870. Most were involved in logging and the sawmills, but many were fishermen. Social activities were similar to those at Fort Bragg, with great interest in choirs and stage presentations. The Summer Festivals (Kesäjuhlat) were a highlight of the summer season.

Rocklin. Granite quarries at Rocklin, 20 miles northeast of Sacramento, attracted Finns into the area starting in 1875, and Finns were active in the quarries and as stonecutters for four decades. A few Finns had settled in the area during the Gold Rush period in the 1850's. An ethnic community became established as Finns moved into the area in the 1880's and 1890's. They came to work in the granite quarries and made their homes in Rocklin and Loomis. Some bought land and later raised fruit. Others went into business enterprises. Stoneworkers from New England came in the decade 1900-1910.

Rocklin at one time had 61 producing quarries(Hardwick, 1984). Most were small operations. The quarried stone was cut and finished at the quarry. The California Granite Company was Rocklin's largest producer. Most of the Rocklin granite was used for building stone and street curbing in San Francisco as well as other communities, and in cemetery work and monuments. A strike in 1915 resulted in shut-down of the quarries from which the industry never recovered; and many Finns left Rocklin to work in quarries in Porter-ville and Raymond(Knowles).

The Finnish population in Rocklin reached 318 in 1910, declined to 166 in 1920, and recovered to nearly

500 in the mid-1920's (Hardwick, 1984). Rocklin Finns not in the granite industry had continued their activities in raising fruit and in business.

The Finnish community in Rocklin had active social, cultural and religious programs, generally centered on the Finn hall completed in 1905 by the temperance society. These Finns, though interested in becoming Americanized as soon as possible, still maintained the Finnish culture and traditions.

Knowles(Raymond). Granite quarries were in operation at Knowles, 30 miles north of Fresno, at the same time as those at Rocklin. Large-scale quarry operations began in 1900, with 300-500 men employed in the 1907-20 period. Finns started coming to Knowles in 1907, many from Rocklin, and others directly from New England. The Rocklin Finns maintained their permanent homes at Rocklin. Only a few Finnish families had their permanent residence at Knowles.

After WW-I reinforced concrete construction cut into the use of granite as structural material, with granite used mainly for ornamental work and monuments. By 1932 Knowles was known by name only (U.H. Erickson, personal communication).

Reedley. A Finnish colony was founded at Reedley in 1905 by a group of Finnish carpenters, longshoremen and sailors in San Francisco interested in establishing a farm colony. The site was suggested by Axel Wahren, a Finnish agronomist and exiled member of the Finnish Parliament. He had visited the United States during his early studies in agriculture. Reedley is 25 miles southeast of Fresno and in the heart of the so-called "World's Fruit Basket." Gradually the initial settlers were joined by Finnish fishermen from Astoria, miners, farmers from the Dakotas, and loggers from Washington.

Many Finns who were inexperienced in the farming methods in this semi-arid region failed and moved away. Others suffered through disasters and problems. Those that stayed learned, and they found viticulture, the cultivation of grapes, to be a successful venture. Raisins were the principal marketable crop. Orchard fruits and agricultural products also provided income during the early years.

Social and community activities for the Reedley Finns started with their 1906 Christmas celebration. Clubs and group activities were popular. A Brotherhood Lodge was established in 1909, and in 1911 the Finn hall was built, as a general meeting hall open to all.

Parlier, 5 miles west, was a secondary Finnish center. Reedley and Parlier had about 75 Finnish families at one time, but changes in the economy after WW-I caused some departures. About 60 families were in Reedley and Parlier in 1925.

Los Angeles Area. The rapid growth of Los Angeles in the early years of this century provided extensive employment in the building trades and construction. This, coupled with the mild climate brought many people to the city, in about all fields of work.

Los Angeles had a small Finnish-American population of only 40-60 in 1905. But the employment opportuni-ties and the other attributes of the region attracted many Finnish skilled workers and craftsmen, and others. By 1925 nearly 2,000 Finnish-Americans were estimated to be in the city.

Hollywood had already achieved fame and distinction as the motion-picture center. By 1925 it was beginning to attract actors, artists, and performers. However, only a few Finns were there at that time.

San Pedro, the port city, about 25 miles south of Los Angeles, had a small group of Finnish sailors living there for several decades. By the 1920's many Finnish craftsmen and skilled workers had moved into the area, numbering 200 or more.

San Francisco Bay Area. The Finnish-American community in San Francisco became established by 1860 when families began to come, and developed into the oldest and largest Finnish settlement in California. Later, the Finns settled in East Bay communities at Berkeley, Oakland, and vicinity, and in the North Bay.

In 1925 nearly three-fifths (7,700) of the Finnish-Americans in California were located in the San Francisco Bay Area, with nearly one-half of them in San Francisco and more than one-third in Berkeley.

The programs and activities of the Finnish-Americans in this region over the years have been extensive and there have been many significant events.

Petaluma-Penngrove. Petaluma, 40 miles north of San Francisco, is a poultry and egg center. Penngrove, 5 miles northwest of Petaluma, is the center of the Finnish-American community in this area. Finns came to Penngrove in 1907, and by the 1920's 50 or more families had settled there. These families have farms where they raise 5,000-10,000 chickens. Large quantities of eggs are sent to market.

A large number of Finnish families had settled in other nearby communities in Sonoma and Marin Counties, singly or in small groups, with most also involved in the poultry business.

Richmond. In 1881 John R. Nystrom, Finnish-born sailor, bought 70 acres of land in Richmond, in the East Bay, and became a pioneer resident. He farmed the land until 1903, then subdivided, and annexed the land to Richmond as the Nystrom Addition. He also entered the real estate business, eventually becoming a capitalist and banker. He was honored and respected as a pioneer, school board member and trustee, city trustee, and community developer.

Oakland. Several hundred Finns had settled in Oakland prior to 1925. Many were builders, contractors, craftsmen, and skilled workers. The Finns in Oakland presumably were within the sphere of social and cultural activities of the Finns in Berkeley.

Berkeley. Finns had settled in Berkeley, the site of the University of California, during the last two decades of the 1800's. But many Finns, and others, moved to the east bay communities after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake, including Berkeley, Albany, Oakland, and others. By 1925 more than 3,000 Finns were in the east bay area. They were extensively involved in building and construction work, and in various trades. Some were seamen. They had extensive social and cultural programs and societies.

The first Finnish church in Berkeley, the First Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Church, was built in 1901, and the church was used by other groups also. Other Finnish churches were built later.

In 1909 the 10th-Street Finn Hall was dedicated. It was built by the Berkeley Finnish Socialist local and was named the Toveri Tupa (Comrades Hall). Hannula (1981, p.185) reported that it was the "largest building constructed completely by volunteer labor in the United States." The hall was the center of a wide range of activities. The Finnish Comrades Band was well known in Berkeley. The Annual Summer Festivals, often centered around the hall, were gala summertime events.

San Francisco. The Finns in San Francisco were not grouped together in a single settlement, but were, and are, spread among several. In the 1920's there were hundreds of Finnish homes in the Eureka Valley and on Noe and Sixteenth Streets (Finntown).

Many of the Finns in San Francisco were longshoremen or otherwise associated with shipping and the maritime industry. Typically they were much involved in the labor movement and unions. Other Finns were in the woodworking industry, building and construction trades, and other fields of work. Many were in industry, business and commerce.

In 1913 Matti A. Finnilä, Finnish-born, and a brick building contractor, built first Finnish steam bath in San Francisco, in the Finntown area. He built three saunas in all (the third one, in 1933, was the most modern and largest, and remained in operation until 1986).

Finland Day at the 1894 San Francisco World's Fair was highlighted by a parade which included floats, a group of Finnish Temperance Society women in blue and white, and about a thousand Finns from San Francisco, Fort Bragg, Eureka and Rocklin; talks by Vice-Consul Gustaf Wilson and newspaperman Adolph Riippa; and Finnish music and songs by bands and choirs. Ilmonen (1930.p. 86) marveled at the excellent, well-received and representative Finnish program presented by these western Finns.

Two Finn halls were built in San Francisco in 1908. A Temperance Hall was built at 425 Hoffman Street; the hall is still in use though ownership has changed. The Finnish Workers Society (Työväenyhdistys) built the Socialist Hall at 20 Flint Street (16th and Flint). This hall burned in 1945. Both halls served their

respective societies and others as centers for social events and many other activities.

In 1922 Jarl Lindfors, who came to San Francisco from Finland in 1908, was designated Vice-Consul for Finland in San Francisco (senior consulate for West in Seattle). Previously he had served in the U.S. Coast Guard and as a shipmaster in the American merchant marine.

This brief report on the early Finns of the West opened with the first Finns coming to San Francisco. It seems appropriate to close this review in San Francisco where Consul Lindfors represented the common tie between the Finnish-Americans and Finland.

NOTE.-A graphic description of the lives of Finnish immigrant miners and their families in the 1890's in the West is presented by Oskari Tokoi in his autobiography "SISU--Even through a Stone Wall" (Robert Speller and Sons, New York, 1957).

Tokoi, born in Finland in 1873, spent 10 years from 1891 to 1900 as a young, poor, immigrant miner in the American West. He presents a lucid and informative account of his, experiences and trials. During this period his travels took him from Wyoming and Colorado to the Pacific Coast and California.

In Finland after 1900 Tokoi became the Second Speaker of the Finnish Diet, Chairman of the Finnish Federation of Labor, and the first Premier of Finland after Finnish Independence (1917). Later, back in the United States, he was editor of the newspaper, Raivaaja, for more than two decades.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This brief report is based principally on review of the available literature, supplemented by information provided by respondents to the Finnfest '86 questionnaire. Some of the references have been cited in the text; most were used in a more general way.

The contributions by those responding to the questionnaire, and by many members of the Finnfest '86 committees, are gratefully acknowledged.

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